

Rwanda Parliament Support Project Final Report

Deliverable 028

Submitted to:

USAID/Rwanda



Submitted by:

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Introduction

The present report constitutes the final deliverable under the 15-month Rwanda Parliament Support Project (RPSP) which concluded on December 31, 2004. It provides a comprehensive overview of the project and activities accomplished since the project began in September 2003. The activities undertaken supported USAID/Rwanda's Strategic Objective (SO 5): "Improved Governance through Increased Citizen Participation" and IR 5.2: "Increased government responsiveness to citizen groups at the national level." The project goal was to strengthen the capacity of the Rwanda Parliament to function effectively as an independent institution which is responsive to the needs of the nation's citizens.

As envisioned in the USAID Scope of Work, the ARD Rwanda Parliament Support Project has focused on training and technical assistance. Activities were designed to be responsive to Rwanda's evolving context and to build upon efforts initiated under the former SUNY/ARD project (November 2000-September 2003).

Reporting on activities follows the same format as the in most recent Semi-annual Report (Deliverable 16, August 2, 2004). One new heading, Strategic Planning, was added. A full list of project deliverables is included as Appendix A. Appendix B is the baselines and final indicators and follows the same format as first submitted to USAID (Deliverable 06) as an attachment to the original work plan; the indicators were previously updated in the two Semi-annual Reports (Deliverables 08 and 16).

Project Background

Responding to a request from the Rwanda Transitional National Assembly (TNA) for assistance, USAID/Rwanda commissioned the State University of New York (SUNY) to conduct a legislative needs assessment in 1999. Following the recommendations of this report, USAID contracted with SUNY and ARD to provide long-term technical assistance to support the institutional development of the Assembly. All told, this assistance, continued for nearly three years, laying an important foundation for support to the newly elected Parliament¹ under the present project.

The initial USAID Task Order, authorizing the former Rwanda National Assembly Support Project, was issued to SUNY under the Deliberative Bodies IQC, and covered the period from November 2000 until September 2003. Responsibility for implementing the project was shared between SUNY and ARD. The present ARD project, authorized under the Global DG Analytical Services IQC, was contracted in response to the Rwanda legislature's request for continued assistance.

¹ With the June 4, 2003 promulgation of the new Rwanda Constitution, both the structure and terminology of Rwanda's legislature changed. The unicameral "Transitional National Assembly" ceased to exist, as did use of the term "Assembly." The new legislature is the bicameral "Parliament" consisting of both the "Chamber of Deputies" and the "Senate."

The Rwanda Parliament

The RPSP operated during a dynamic time for Rwanda as the post-genocidal transitional government was succeeded by a government presiding over newly crafted institutional arrangements. A new Constitution was adopted by national referendum on May 26, 2003, and Presidential and legislative elections were held in August and September/October, respectively. On October 10, 2003, the new Members of Parliament (MPs), 80 Deputies and 20 Senators, were sworn in, and the leadership of both chambers elected. The top leadership of the Senate was the same as the former Transitional National Assembly, but the Chamber of Deputies leadership was entirely new.

The new post-transition Parliament differs from the prior Transitional National Assembly in a number of ways. These include the shift from appointed to elected legislators; an influx of many new MPs, many of whom have no legislative experience; a large increase in the number of women legislators; new leadership in the Chamber of Deputies; and the many institutional changes resulting from the new Constitution, including legislative autonomy and the shift to a bicameral Parliament.

While these changes created an extraordinary opportunity for positive institutional development, the political and organizational environment that emerged in post-election Rwanda made it challenging to fully implement planned activities as originally outlined in the USAID RFP and project's Preliminary Work Plan.

The government's insistence that the new Parliament pass many "urgent" bills forced the new Parliament into a largely reactive mode during its initial six months, making it problematic to focus on longer term, strategic needs. While many MPs expressed the need for training, project staffers were repeatedly told, "We don't have time now." The Chamber of Deputies leadership took more than four months to respond to the project's proposed activity list, and even afterwards, did not consistently follow up on the dates and activities proposed in their plan. Also, in several key areas (such as autonomy), the Parliament relinquished some of its Constitutional authority in the face of pressure from the executive branch.

In June, a Chamber of Deputies debated and endorsed a special committee report in which some churches and civil society organizations, as well as the national university and some secondary schools, were cited as fostering an "ideology of genocide." The Dutch government and several international NGOs supporting civil society (including CARE, Trocaire, and Norwegian Peoples Aid) were also cited. Concern has been expressed about this report, which some see as parliamentary support for the perceived government post-election squeeze on political space.

There were, however, been some positive indications of parliamentary independence, especially from the Senate, which successfully advocated for a 50% budget increase over what the Minister of Finance had proposed. In addition, a special Senate committee investigating gacaca-related killings in Gikongoro directed some very pointed accusations at the government, in general, and the Prime Minister, in particular. One Senator publicly warned the Prime

Minister against “telling lies.”² Another challenged the Minister of Finance to justify increased tax collection revenues.³

For its part, the Chamber of Deputies held a heated debate on a government-supported provision in the new *gacaca* law. They also sent back to the executive the proposed bill on land expropriations; this is unusual, since the new Parliament has followed the TNA’s tradition of passing virtually all government-proposed bills (while rarely initiating bills of its own). MPs have also publicly criticized the government for its proposal to end the electricity crisis and for not involving Parliament in key budget decisions.⁴

The Chamber of Deputies also opened committee meetings to the public, an important step toward full transparency. The Chamber Agriculture Committee held well-attended meetings on the proposed land bill. Members of the public in attendance were allowed to present their views on the various articles in the bill, and a prominent newspaper encouraged such participation with an editorial headlined, “Input on Land Law Indispensable.”⁵ These are major steps forward.

Further, while the new Parliament initially set aside several critical institutional priorities, it has subsequently taken some moves forward on internal rules for both chambers. The leadership of both chambers reportedly objected to the President of the Republic’s dissatisfaction with the autonomy provisions in the proposed internal rules, and a compromise was apparently reached, although neither bill had become law as of the end of the project.

Four years of USAID legislative assistance (though the former ARD/SUNY and current ARD projects) has included training and technical assistance on executive oversight, enhanced parliamentary budget resources, procurement of expert staff, strengthening the internal rules, opening committee meetings to the public, public participation at the committee level, and increased legislative independence. All of these elements came into play, as described in the preceding paragraphs. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that USAID has made important contributions to the Rwanda legislature and, ultimately, reinforced the need for separation of powers -- which is such a critical element in democratic governance.

These examples reinforce our view that, despite many challenges, USAID assistance is likely to have a significant positive impact over the long term. The evolution of Rwanda toward democracy will invariably be a long process, with many “stops and starts,” and institutional development requires a multi-year commitment and long-term perspective.

Training and Technical Assistance Overview

² New Times, January 12, 2004, p. 2

³ New Times, July 26, 2004, p. 3

⁴ New Times, July 30, 2004, pp. 1-2

⁵ New Times, July 26, 2004, p. 8

As envisioned in the USAID terms of reference, the ARD Rwanda Parliament Support Project followed the general design of the previous project with a focus on training and technical assistance. The mission was to strengthen the capacity of the Rwanda Parliament to function effectively as an independent institution which is responsive to the needs of the nation's citizens. Activities were designed to be responsive to Rwanda's evolving context and build upon prior efforts initiated.

The training and technical approach played to the project's strengths, including the legislative experience of the project Chief of Party/Project Director (COP) Douglass Teschner, a former legislator himself, and the legal capacity of the Program Officer/Legislative Specialist (PO/LS), Ben Ntaganira. Legislative leadership and parliamentary staff appreciated the training and technical assistance niche and capacity of USAID and ARD. One key staffer wrote: "Thank you for the excellent collaboration you have made with us. We'll never forget you. . . . The study tour to Kenya was very fruitful. We have understood how you were so right when you defended the importance of the full autonomy for any Parliament."

Technical assistance and training were offered for the legislators in both chambers of Parliament, as well as for staff of both chambers. However, the staff took more advantage of the project than did the legislators. The project also included outreach components directed to the public and civil society. Some targeted, but limited, material assistance to Parliament was also included where shortages of critical equipment and resources resulted in suboptimal functioning.

Training and technical assistance took one of four basic approaches. In order of preference, these were: (1) fully utilize the technical expertise of the project staff, including the COP and the PO/LS; (2) favor the utilization and development of local Rwandan capacity whenever it is possible (and, when not practical, involve Rwandan counterparts working with expat trainers); 3) utilize African consultants when local capacity is inadequate; and 4) utilize USN and other international technical assistance where such assistance is deemed necessary. Expat consultants had dual roles: (1) direct provision of intensive training/technical assistance on key analytical or substantive issues and (2) working with, and mentoring, local counterpart expert/trainers.

The project also built upon the successful intern program initiated under the former project. The intern program enhanced project capacity and served as a positive training environment for young Rwandans and others interested in a career in government. In the past fifteen months, project interns included five Rwandans and one Sri Lankan. Rwandan interns completed their time with the current and former projects and some moved onto, one as lead judge in a district tribunal. Several have credited the project with successfully helping to launch their careers.

The ARD project embraced the philosophy that effective institutional capacity building requires adaptation to evolving institutional needs and timely responses to emerging opportunities. This is especially true for the Rwanda Parliament as the institution evolves under the new Constitutional framework. This need for flexibility was demonstrated on numerous occasions, including the two seminars for the Rwanda Parliament Women's Forum, neither of which was not specifically anticipated in the original USAID RFP. We believe this flexible

approach was necessary given the dynamics of a Parliament which had many new faces, a heavy initial agenda, and historical traditions of legislative acquiescence to the executive branch.

The project also demonstrated a commitment to collaborating with other donors and partners in order to leverage USAID assistance. Examples include two human resource activities with the Dutch NGO SNV and collaboration with UNDESA, which has funds to provide IT development at the Parliament. The project also worked with the UNDP parliament project to implement the new MP orientation training. The RPSP worked collaboratively with USAID-partner CARE on civil society issues and with another USAID partner, Internews, which videotaped the Women's MP practice communications skills sessions and also showed its film on parliamentary elections at the New MP Training. The RPSP also assisted the Irish NGO Trocaire in promoting civil society visits to the Parliament. The project also supported NDI's work in organizing a post-election seminar for political parties.

The project has also worked collaboratively in cross-cutting USAID initiatives. Involvement with the SO Ag./Econ. Development team included extensive collaboration on the land bill.

Activity Reports

In late October 2003, the RPSP submitted to Parliament a list of potential activities, based upon the USAID RFP and contract, but we did not receive a formal response from the Parliament until March 25, 2004. At that time, the new Chamber of Deputies leadership articulated its institutional development priorities in a draft Strategic Plan and a document requesting specific ARD project assistance. Further clarity on priorities was achieved during subsequent meetings with Senate President Biruta, Chamber Speaker Mukezamfura, and the Chamber Secretary General.

Prior to receiving that response, we attempted to be as flexible as possible and undertake activities which emerged in an ad hoc fashion. While not ideal, this approach enabled us to move forward while we awaited more formal direction from the Parliament leadership. The Parliament's delay in identifying its priorities forced us to concentrate many activities in the latter part of the project calendar and also propose a three-month extension.

The activities described below represented both logical follow-up to past activities, as well as new ones deemed as priorities by Parliament. The latter were selected in consideration of (1) the original USAID contract and work plan, (2) the written proposal received from the Chamber of Deputies Secretary General (SG) on March 25, 2004, (3) follow-up communication culminating in a meeting with the Chamber SG on May 28, 2004, and (4) a priority-setting meeting with Senate President Biruta on May 25, 2004. In addition, there continued to be ad hoc requests from Parliament and we tried to respond as best we could consistent with the project goals and contract.

All told, during its fifteen month duration, the project trained 381 people (183 men and 198 women; duplicated counting) in the fourteen activities that involved training.



All of the activities described in the Preliminary Work Plan (Deliverable 05) and the Semi-Annual Reports (Deliverables 08 and 16) are referenced in this report, although some were combined, reduced in scope, or moved to create a more logical sequence given the evolving situation. The activities are listed under the two priority areas identified in the USAID RFP and are consistent with the broad goal of the project: *To Increase the Rwanda Parliament's Effectiveness, Independence, Accessibility and Responsiveness to Citizens.*

Theme I: Strengthening Institutional Capacity

Objectives:

- 1. to increase the legislature's capacity to function as an efficient, effective, and autonomous institution*
- 2. to strengthen the critical role of legislative committees*
- 3. to help the Parliament implement necessary structural changes resulting from the new Constitution.*

I-1 Implementing Bicameralism

Given the new Constitution, this was a priority area, and assistance has built on training conducted in July 2003 under the former project. Technical assistance was offered, incorporating: how to make bicameralism work, practical aspects, procedures for conference committees, etc. Activities were conducted on an ongoing basis, as requested. The COP and PO/LS were the primary implementers of this activity.

Actions Undertaken: The COP conducted a workshop on this topic as part of the new MP training on November 13, 2003. Topics included advantages and disadvantages of bicameralism, the number of countries with bicameral parliaments, why differences develop between the two chambers, the Rwanda Senate, and resolving differences between the two chambers. In addition, technical assistance was provided by the COP on joint rules in the proposed internal regulations of both chambers

Specific Deliverables Submitted:

- Deliverable 007, Training of New Members of Parliament (Activity Report), November 17, 2003.

I-2 Creation of a Senate

A document entitled "Some Considerations for the New Senate" was completed under the former project, and the current project built upon these past efforts to help start a Senate "from scratch."

Actions Undertaken: A new planning document: "Some Considerations for the New Parliament" (Deliverable 03) was given to new MPs on October 16, 2003. The COP presented to

the new Senate at its first meeting on October 16; he described the planning documents completed prior to the September parliamentary elections. The COP subsequently (on Oct. 17 and 20, 2004) met with and advised a special Senate committee developing a staffing plan and Senate budget and provided consultation as requested. As described in more detail later, at the request of Senate President Biruta, technical assistance was provided on staff organizational charts and job descriptions by the COP and SNV, a Dutch NGO. On January 27, 2004, the COP met with Sen. Chrysologue Kubwimana who was serving on an ad hoc Senate Committee planning a weeklong retreat away from Kigali. The retreat goal was to develop an action plan for the Senate, as well as offer training and insights of Senators from other countries with bicameral parliaments. A formal letter of request for assistance was received, and the project agreed to pay for trainers for the March retreat. It was subsequently decided by the Senate to have a smaller retreat in March using their internal resources and the project was not involved.

Specific Deliverables Submitted:

- Deliverable 003, Some Considerations for the New Parliament (Report), October 14, 2004.

I-3 Training for New and Returning MPs

With many new MPs, training on the roles and responsibilities of a legislator is an important function.

Actions Undertaken: A one-day new member training program was conducted on November 13, 2003. The project had previously proposed a three-day training program for new Senators and Deputies and repeatedly sought input on priorities for the program contents. Instead, the Parliament delayed before finally requesting a one-day only program, which it asked the project to organize on very short notice. The COP participated in the November 13 program as a trainer, and several other trainers were selected by ARD, but funded by UNDP (since there was insufficient time to develop a Scope of Work and get CO approval given the short notice). ARD was thus the lead agency in implementing the training, but there was support and collaboration with UNDP and USAID partner Internews (which showed its film on parliamentary elections). 71 of 80 Deputies and 18 of 20 Senators attended for a total of 89 participants. Topics and trainers were (1) Overview of the MP Role (presented by COP Teschner), (2) Drafting Bills and Creating Laws (Attorney Kabalira Stanislas), (3) Executive Oversight (Prof. Canisius Kananura), (4) Rwanda Budget Process (Prof. Gerard Rutazibwa), (5) The Key Role of Parliament in Post-transition Rwanda (Dr. Jean Paul Kimonyo), and (6) Bicameralism (COP Teschner). We received 60 completed evaluation forms, and 48 of the 60 rated the program 4 or 5 on a 5 scale for "Overall Value." Follow-up training was proposed, but was not scheduled by the Parliament due to the heavy workload. In addition, the project was assisting a new MP in drafting a member bill until the MP determined that the government would respond to his concerns and that our assistance was no longer needed.

Specific Deliverables Submitted:

- Deliverable 007, Training of New Members of Parliament (Activity Report), November 17, 2004.

I-4 Implementing Legislative Autonomy

The new Rwanda Constitution gives the Parliament powers of administrative and financial autonomy, and it is important for the Parliament to define how it will operationalize these powers. Assistance proposed followed up on the June/July 2003 consultancy under the former project. It was hoped that the TNA would pass the autonomy bill developed during the consultancy by Uganda's Dan Ogalo prior to its dissolution,. However, that did not happen, and this bill was left for the new Parliament.

Actions Undertaken: The COP worked with parliamentary staff to redraft the Ogalo bill, but, after the new Parliament was seated, the bill was put on hold while the Parliament attended to government priority bills. In December, the Chamber of Deputies, through the Economy and Trade Committee, began working on the bill. As requested by the Chamber, a Scope of Work (SOW) was developed and a new consultant hired to assist with the redrafting. Attorney Oswald Burasanzwe completed the assignment in February, and it was hoped that the Chamber of Deputies would vote out the bill, but this has not yet taken place. The PO/LS sent a letter to the chairman of the Economy and Trade Commission offering to provide continued assistance on the bill, but, despite follow-up, we did not receive a response. Other parallel events occurred which cast some doubt on the extent to which the new Parliament will fully utilize its powers of autonomy as defined in the new Constitution. First, the Parliament allowed the Cabinet to make the final selection of the two Secretaries General (one for each chamber). Secondly, the executive branch civil service ministry (MIFOTRA) initiated a project to develop parliamentary job descriptions, even though the Parliament had asked ARD to undertake this task. Thirdly, the President of the Republic asked for reconsideration of the Senate rules, specifically objecting to provisions which allow the Senate to hire its own staff. Taken as a whole, these events lead us to believe that Parliament's de facto powers of autonomy will be less than envisioned in the Constitution.

Specific Deliverables Submitted:

- Deliverable 009, Redrafting of Autonomy Law Consultancy Report, February 20, 2004.

I-5 Increased Executive Oversight

Policy analysis for executive oversight, assuring accountability for government funds, and the Parliament's relationship with the newly independent Auditor General are among the topics of importance.

Actions Undertaken: This subject was included in the November 13, 2003 training for the new MPs, and interest was expressed in continued training. Support in this area was included in the table of proposed activities received from the Chamber of Deputies on March 25, 2004. A Scope of Work was developed, with approval from the Chamber leadership, for a two-day workshop on August 2-3, 2004. The SOW was approved by the CTO and submitted to the REDSO contracting office in Nairobi. The three proposed trainers/facilitators were all Rwandans, as requested by the Chamber leadership. They were professors Pierre Rwanyindo Ruzirabwoba and Gerard Rutazibwa and Dr. Eliphaz Ben Karenzi, former MP and former Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. The Auditor General was also to be invited to participate. The consultants developed a plan to make brief presentations and then act as facilitators, helping the MPs to develop practical recommendations as to how best exercise Executive Oversight in the Rwandan context. Given the importance of the state budget in executive oversight, presentations and discussion were to include budgetary aspects, as well as the proposed new executive oversight law. While the focus was to be on Executive Oversight, the workshops were intended to incorporate elements from other topics, including effective representation and involving citizens and the press in the legislative process. Unfortunately, after planning was well underway, we were informed very late in the planning stages that the seminar needed to be postponed. Despite repeatedly stated interest by the Parliament to reschedule, as well as follow up by project staff, the Parliament was unable to propose any dates. Thus, despite all the planning, this seminar did not take place. There was, however, a seminar on this same topic conducted on December 9-11, 2004, for the Rwanda Women's MP Forum. Honorable Winnie Byanyima, a Ugandan MP and Member the African Union of Parliamentarians, was the presenter, assisted by Ms Angela Nakafeero, a Ugandan women's leader. It was attended by 30 MPs (one man and 29 women). A staffer from the Ministry of Finance also presented on budget issues as part of the program. This successful seminar received positive coverage in the televisions and print media.⁶

Specific Deliverables Submitted:

- Deliverable 27, Report on the Consultancy to Enhance the Capacity of the Rwanda Women Parliamentarian's Forum in Effective Executive Oversight and Budget Analysis.

I-6 Strengthening Legislative Committees

Ongoing technical assistance and training was offered to targeted committees on key policy issues, including mechanisms to improve public input, increased programmatic and fiscal oversight of Ministry activities, and research.

Actions Undertaken

Chamber Committees: On November 18, 2003, the project sent a letter to the chairs and vice chairs of all nine Chamber policy committees offering assistance. The Chamber Budget Committee asked the project to develop a training seminar for the committee prior to the arrival

⁶ See, for example, the articles on pages 6 and insert page 5 in the December 15-16, 2004 New Times.

of the state budget, but, as it turned out, there was insufficient time; this subject was to be included in the Executive Oversight seminar discussed previously. As noted in another section of this report, the project provided a consultant to work with the Economy and Trade Commission on refining the autonomy law. The Chamber Youth Committee inquired whether the project might support a proposed trip to Tunisia to support Rwanda in the Africa Nations Cup, but the COP denied that request as inconsistent with the goals of the project. Despite follow-up and hallway discussions in which MPs expressed additional interest, there was nothing specific forthcoming from the other committees, even though we were told several times that the Chamber Budget committee was working on a formal request. While the rules have not been passed, the Chamber of Deputies announced in March that the public can now attend committee meetings; this is a very important innovation for which the project has long been a strong advocate. Project staff members also closely monitored the status of the proposed land bill and offered assistance to the Chamber Agriculture committee, as detailed in a letter dated July 7, 2004. While there was not a formal public hearing, the committee meetings were open and well attended. The Chamber press office stated that members of the public were invited to present their views, and a prominent newspaper has encouraged such participation.⁷

Senate Committees: In late December 2003, after its five committees were formed, we sent a letter offering assistance to the leadership of the Senate Committees. The Senate Budget Committee expressed some interest in working with us, and the COP met with the Senate vice-chair on January 27, 2004. We were told that this committee was looking for a consultant to research information from government and other sources in the areas of agriculture, energy, the environment, and poverty reduction in rural areas, but we never received a formal request. We did, however, assist the Senate Social Committee (1) to define its responsibility to receive citizen petitions (see subsequent section) and (2) to articulate the Senate's role, as defined in article 87 of the Constitution, in overseeing application of Constitution article 9. At the committee's request, the PO/LS drafted a position paper on issues related to the fundamental principle, in article nine, of "fighting the ideology of genocide."

Specific Deliverables Submitted: None.

I-7 Legislative Caucuses and Parliamentary Networks

The original concept of this activity was MP training on the concept of legislative caucuses, including their advantages and disadvantages and how they can impact the development of legislation. This activity depended upon whether caucuses will be legalized (as recommended by the project) as part of the internal rules, and was delayed as the rules did not become law by the end of the project. The Senate declined to include such caucuses in their rules, but has included parliamentary networks, which are more formal structures which existed in the TNA. The Chamber rules are still being considered.

Actions Undertaken: The project worked with one established network, the Rwanda Women's Parliament Forum, to implement two seminars and one technical assistance activity. The COP

⁷ New Times, July 26, 2004, p. 8

met with the Forum leadership on December 17, 2003, and again on June 16, 2003. We offered to provide assistance in a variety of areas, including offering a seminar on Communication Skills for Women MPs, as well as bringing a prominent African women MP to Rwanda to do a workshop on executive oversight skills. In addition, the project agreed to assist in adding a page on the Forum to the Parliament's web site. The Women MP Communication Skills Seminar was held April 16-18, 2004. It included lectures, demonstrations, and skill development work sessions in: (1) public speaking skills (including communicating with constituents), (2) conducting meetings, and (3) working with the press. Three Rwandan consultants implemented the seminar. They included a prominent Rwandan woman in a position of power/influence (Ms. Josepha Nyrankundabera), a communication skills expert (Mr. Christopher Kayumba), and a media expert (Ms. Claudine DeLucca). USAID-partner Internews provided videotaping. The second seminar, led by a prominent women MP from an African country, has been described previously. Lastly, IT expert Anselme Bappock developed the initial design of a web page on the Forum. Mr. Bappock also evaluated the Forum's electronic archiving needs.

Specific Deliverables Submitted:

- Deliverable 12, Report on the Women MP's Communications Skills Seminar, May 18, 2004.
- Deliverable 27, Report on the Consultancy to Enhance the Capacity of the Rwanda Women Parliamentarian's Forum in Effective Executive Oversight and Budget Analysis.

I-8 Anti-Corruption and Legislative Ethics

Assistance was proposed on this topic for the Deputies and Senators, following up on the workshop offered to the TNA in collaboration with the Kigali Bar Association during the prior project.

Actions Undertaken: This seminar was proposed in the Preliminary Work Plan and was included in the table of proposed activities received from the Chamber of Deputies on March 25, 2004, as well as in subsequent discussion. Subsequently, however, it was determined that there was insufficient interest in this topics and no activity was implemented. Given some of the interest in this topic in the media, this was especially disappointing. On the positive side, the Senate did request some background information on legislative ethics, which we provided, and the draft Senate rules draft includes sections on legislative conduct.

Specific Deliverables Submitted: None.

I-9 Independent Civil Service

Consistent with legislative autonomy, a proposal for new personnel rules and procedures was developed, with TNA input, by the former project under the leadership of Hon. Dan Ogalo. Assistance was proposed to fine tune this proposal and help make it operational.

Actions Undertaken: This activity is closely aligned with the autonomy law, internal rules, and staff reorganization initiatives described elsewhere. With delays in passage of both the autonomy law and internal rules, this activity was necessarily placed on hold. Support in this area was included in the table of proposed activities received from the Chamber of Deputies on March 25, 2004, and we hoped that the activity could be rejuvenated. We were subsequently informed, however, that this was not a high priority. We eventually learned that the executive branch was exerting pressure on the Parliament to back away from its powers of autonomy as defined in the new Constitution.

Specific Deliverables Submitted: None.

I-10 Internal Rules Modernization and Procedures Manual

This activity was a carryover from the former project. The COP rewrote the internal rules based upon (1) feedback received during the July 2003 seminar led by Dr. Robert Nakamura and (2) encouragement from the TNA Speaker to make suggested improvements.

Actions Undertaken:

Internal Rules Modernization: In October, the COP met for 10 hours with legislative staff to redraft the rules proposal based upon the prior draft. As described by the COP in an October 8 document entitled Key Milestone in Parliament Support (Deliverable 02), this new draft contained many innovations including public hearings, open committee meetings, joint procedures between the two chambers, the creation of a Petitions Committee, a legislative code of conduct process, subpoena powers, and potential for creation of legislative caucuses. The result was presented to both the Senate and Chamber of Deputies for their review and modifications. Long delays in passage slowed this activity. The process is cumbersome, since, unlike many legislatures, which have sole authority to adopt internal rules, the Rwanda Constitution requires that both chambers' rules be passed as organic laws; this requires the consent of the Constitutional Court and the President of the Republic (subject to override if sent back for reconsideration). Project staff assisted with the final drafting/translations of the Senate bill, which included nearly all the major innovations proposed (one exception being informal caucuses, which were deleted). The project provided translation assistance for the Senate bill, which was also approved by the Chamber, but the President of the Republic objected to provisions related to autonomy; the Senate reportedly negotiated with the Executive and agreed to some modifications. The Chamber bill will soon be passed over to the Senate. Now, more than one year since the new Parliament took office, it is disappointing that new rules are still not yet in place.

Senate Procedures Manual: The COP presented alternative models to both the Senate President and the Chamber Speaker, and Senate President Biruta expressed interest in a model from the NH legislature that included, in one manual, several important documents (Constitution, rules, MP and committee lists, etc.). An RFP was developed and advertised in the newspaper with a deadline of June 21, 2004. Several proposals were received and evaluated, and a contract was awarded to Rwanda Publishing & Advertising Services LTD, which designed the manual, with

versions in both English and French. However, not all the necessary data was forthcoming from the Senate, and the manual is still in draft form. For this reason, the project was not able to print copies for the Senators, as planned.

Specific Deliverables Submitted:

- Deliverable 002, Key Milestone in Parliament Support (Report), October 8, 2003
- Deliverable 023, Senate Manual Design and Compilation, December 15, 2004.

I-11 Implementing Management and Staff Reorganization

This activity follows up on work initiated in the former project, including (1) the July 2003 consultancy by Hon. Dan Ogalo, (2) bicameral staffing assistance by consultant Dr. Robert Nakamura, and (3) a September 2003 staffing proposal authored by Ogalo, COP Teschner, and intern Greg Wierzynski. Identified priorities included specialized staff teams in bill drafting, budget analysis, and research, as well as shared staffing between the two chambers. This activity is closely tied to the autonomy law.

Actions Undertaken: The COP met with a special Senate committee in October 2003 and presented the ideas developed under the former project and offered technical assistance. Both chambers since developed organizational charts which include some of the key concepts the project has advocated, including joint staffing between the two chambers, reduced middle layers of bureaucracy, and new specialized staff positions. At the request of Parliament, the project engaged SNV to develop job descriptions for all posts, both old and new, in both chambers. This Dutch NGO agreed to take on this assignment using its own funds and resources. The work, under the leadership of SNV's Petra van Haren, was formally begun on December 9, 2003, and was completed in March 2004. The SNV activity included input from the COP on the specialist posts, meetings with many Parliament staff, commentary on proposed organizational charts (in consultation with the COP), and detailed job descriptions for all parliamentary staff positions consistent with organizational charts finalized by the two chambers. In early January 2004, we learned that the civil service Ministry (MIFOTRA) was also developing job descriptions for the Parliament. Despite the confusion and apparent redundancy, SNV agreed to complete its task and delivered final reports in March. In early April, parliamentary staff requested that project staff review proposed advertising to fill the various positions and translation assistance was provided. The President of the Republic stated his objections to the Parliament hiring its own staff, and MIFOTRA became more involved in the staffing issues at Parliament, further slowing the process. More recently, some new posts, including 13 specialist positions, were posted, and we have informed that they will soon be filled, with final approval by MIFOTRA. At the request of the Senate President, SNV conducted a further activity to develop a human resource manual and staff development action plan which is described in more detail in a later section.

Specific Deliverables Submitted:

- Deliverable 010, Report on Job Descriptions for the New Rwanda Senate, March 1, 2004
- Deliverable 011, Report on Job Descriptions for the Rwanda Chamber of Deputies, March 17, 2004

I-12 Increasing MP & Staff Technical Skills

The project has responded to targeted opportunities, including computer training and IT skills development and bill drafting/policy analysis.

Actions Undertaken

Internet/Computer Training was requested by numerous MPs, and in March, project staff distributed a needs assessment instrument to the Chamber of Deputies. 45 MPs responded and the completed forms were analyzed with the goal of designing specific training to meet MP needs. An RFP was developed and submitted to 23 IT vendors, and ComputerPoint was selected to implement the internet training. The training was conducted from May 31 to June 11, 2004; 37 Deputies and 8 Senators participated.

Legislative Drafting and Legal Translation Training was requested by the staff of the Chamber of Deputies, Mr. Denis Roumestan, a Canadian lawyer who lives in Kigali, was engaged to conduct the training and develop a framework for a bill drafting procedures manual. As a prelude to this activity, the project's three lawyers (PO/LS and two interns) provided judicial analyses and final translations of four bills. In addition, intern Ashani Alles developed a list of bill drafting courses and resources, as requested by the Chamber Secretary General. The six-day bill drafting training was conducted on August 6-8, 18, and 25 and September 2, 2004, and a bill drafting manual was developed as a work product. Seventeen staff participated, including the Secretaries General of both chambers. In his report, the consultant makes 27 detailed recommendations in a variety of areas including personnel qualifications, working conditions, training, equipment, translation, style, staff/MP relations, and ethics.

Training activities related to executive oversight and electronic archiving are discussed elsewhere in this report.

Specific Deliverables Submitted:

- Deliverable 014, Internet Skills Training for Rwanda Members of Parliament, June 15, 2004.
- Deliverable 021, Consultancy on Enhanced Bill Drafting Skills and Development of a Bill Drafting Manual, December 11, 2004.

I-13 Modernization of Assembly's Archives and Documentation Center

This activity built on work conducted during 2003 under the prior project, which included an inventory of legislative paper documents, document management training, and acquisition of two computers and a scanner.

Actions Undertaken: A detailed Scope of Work was drafted and the project hired consultant Anselme Bappock, a German of Cameroonian descent who lives in Rwanda. The consultancy

by this expert in electronic archiving and IT systems analysis began March 2 and, soon after, the documentation staff began scanning documents. On March 31, Senate President Biruta visited the documentation center to observe progress, and Mr. Bappock explained a number of issues with respect to the flow of documents and making them accessible on the parliament's web site. With President Biruta's support, efforts were undertaken to better coordinate the work of IT staff with the archives and other parliamentary staff. Three days of staff training were held on April 21-23, 2004. Bappock and the library staff archived all the new laws from 2002-2004, and these were made accessible on the parliamentary web site. (Unfortunately, problems with the Parliament's server and a failure of parliamentary staff to back-up its data resulted in the loss of this work, as well as numerous other parliamentary documents.) Mr. Bappock informed us that the speed and functionality of the archival system would be vastly improved by the acquisition of a faster scanner, and a high-speed scanner was acquired by the project, shipped from the United States, and installed at Parliament by Mr. Bappock. The report of the Bappock consultancy (Deliverable 13) provides detailed recommendations including (1) internal changes required to better manage documents, (2) IT systems improvements related to document flow and increased document accessibility on the Parliament web site, and (3) future training and assistance needs. Project staff met with Senate President Biruta to discuss the recommendations in the Bappock report and future assistance, and a new Scope of Work was developed with continued training and technical assistance. Mr. Bappock began this second consultancy on July 8, 2004, and he recovered 2,166 lost pages (84% of the 2586 previously scanned). The tasks accomplished in Mr. Bappock's new consultancy (Electronic Archives Phase Three and IT Systems Document Management and Training) were as follows:

1. Instruction on Use of the New Scanner,
2. Supervision of Backlog Interns (see below)
3. Write a User Manual for Archiving,
4. Development of Back-up and Recovery Policies and Data Recovery,
5. Development of Document Management Policies,
6. Implementation of a Three-day Workshop on Document Management Policies,
7. Human Resource Development in IT and Archiving,
8. Write a Document on Management Oversight of IT Staff,
9. Increase Documents on the Parliament Web Site,
10. One-day MP Training on Electronic Archiving, and
11. Interface with NGO data base consultants.

Given Parliament's request (included in the March 25 activity table) and Bappock's first consultancy recommendations, the project engaged three interns (Mr. Lee Ngarambe, Mr. Anaclet Muhire Habarurema, and Ms. Jolie-Pacifique Uwanyirigira) on a short term basis to undertake the electronic archiving at the Parliament, including scanning the backlog of laws and other documents. All told, 92,350 pages were scanned in about two months. The Parliament web site now includes all the voted laws, plenary reports, plenary verbatim reports, committee reports, and bureau reports from 1994-2004. The PowerPoint presentations to the full Chamber of Deputies (on November 16, 2004) and the full Senate (on November 19) were extremely well received, and the Speaker of the lower house asked Mr. Bappock to come to his office after the session so he could personally congratulate him on the work.

Specific Deliverables Submitted:



- Deliverable 013, Phase Two Consultancy on Electronic Archiving, June 10, 2004
- Deliverable 024, Phase Three Consultancy on Electronic Archiving, December 15, 2004.

I-14 HR Development and Internal Orientation and Training Capacity

A modern parliament needs to maximize human development potential and provide training on an ongoing basis. Human resources (HR) assistance was designed to help formalize this critical need.

Actions Undertaken: The project was asked by Senate Pres. Biruta to assist with HR development, and the COP drafted a comprehensive Scope of Work in November 2003 that included job descriptions, procedures for recruitment of staff, ensuring adequate supervision and effective management structures, creation of salary scales, employment conditions and benefits, clarification of human resource development and personnel management needs, evaluation of existing training resources, and development of a plan for ongoing staff training. Upon reviewing this document, President Biruta asked us to focus first on the job descriptions. The SOW was rewritten, and this activity was completed by SNV as described previously. More recently, President Biruta asked us assist with development of a human resource system based upon regular supervision, internal accountability, annual reviews, increased supervisory training, and increased internal orientation training capacity. A SOW was developed for a consultancy to initiate this approach. While such implementation will require considerable long-term efforts, the activities in this Scope of Work were intended to begin this process. SNV agreed to undertake the assignment, and the CO approved the contractual arrangement. SNV began the work on August 4. SNV evaluated existing procedures, supervisory and training materials/manuals, and formulated recommendations and a HR manual to meet future needs of Parliament. A one-day seminar was conducted for nine key staffers on September 10, 2004.

Specific Deliverables Submitted:

- Deliverable 017, Assistance to the Rwanda Senate to Develop a Human Resources Management and Staff Development Action Plan (by SNV), including the Manual of Human Resource Management (English and French), September 29, 2004.

I-15 Parliament Study Tour

The opportunity to visit another African parliament is a valuable learning experience, providing perspective and new ideas. The chance to meet and discuss with colleagues who perform similar jobs is especially valuable.

Actions Undertaken: With Parliament's new interest in bicameralism, the project was in contact with parliamentary staff in South Africa to ascertain possible dates for a tour there. Given that there were April elections, scheduling of this activity was delayed until late spring/early summer 2004. The COP also explored other bicameral parliament possibilities in Africa. The director of a legislative project in Ethiopia told the COP that this parliament would not offer what we are looking for since the second chamber does not have a legislative role. Morocco was another nation contacted as they have a recent experience in transformation from unicameralism to

bicameralism. A letter was sent to the Rwanda Parliament leadership outlining several alternatives, and they selected South Africa as their first choice. The Chamber leadership sent a formal letter to the project requesting the South Africa tour starting in late May. A formal proposal was drafted for the Rwanda Parliament to send to South Africa, and it was faxed to Cape Town on April 15, 2004. There was no formal response despite repeated “back channel” contacts by ARD project staff. On June 30, the COP and PO/LS met with the new South African Ambassador to Rwanda, and he supported new dates and redrafting of a letter to the new South Africa Parliament Speaker. The new letter was faxed to South Africa in early July, and an affirmative response was received; the South Africa Speaker did state, however, that due to the newness of their post-election parliament, they would not be able to share as much information as we might have liked. The Rwanda Parliament submitted a list of participants, and ARD staff followed up to arrange the details of the study tour on the proposed August 8-15 dates. However, given late input from Rwanda’s ambassador to South Africa, the tour was cancelled. As an alternative, we were able to arrange a week long study tour (November 21-27, 2004) for six top parliamentary staffers (including the Secretaries General of both chambers). PO/LS Ben Ntaganira and project assistant Antoinette Habinshuti led the tour. Among the topics of particular interest were legislative autonomy, the parliamentary service commission, HR development, citizen and civil society participation in the legislative process, media relations, the research department, and strategic planning. The Rwanda participants also benefited from contacts with Zambian and Tanzanian parliamentary officials who were also in attendance for the Kenya program.

Specific Deliverables Submitted:

- Deliverable 026, Kenya Parliament Study Tour, December 13, 2004

I-16 Strategic Planning

This overarching activity is a late addition to the plan of work. The project has been advocating for some time that the Parliament develop a unified strategic plan which articulates its mission and vision and can serve as a basis for institutional development, donor requests, and improved donor coordination.

Actions Undertaken: The parliament provided two drafts of their plan to ARD and the COP and PO/LS provided comments on both versions. Near the end of the project, the Parliament requested a consultant to finalize the plan. A SOW was developed and Dr. Carpophore Ntagunira was engaged to conduct this activity. He produced a draft in both French and English, but it could not be finalized since key people at Parliament were not available to provide sufficient input in the time allotted. In his final report, Dr. Ntaganira proposes four strategic orientations (Communications Systems, Improved Services, Legislation Systems, and Government Control and National Unity) with 10 objectives.

Specific Deliverables Submitted:

Deliverable 022, Consultancy to Finalize the Rwanda Parliament’s Strategic Plan, December 14, 2004

Theme II: Improving Citizen Involvement in the Legislative Process

Objectives:

1. *to ensure effective representation by elected legislators*
2. *to educate Rwanda citizens on the role of the legislature in democratic governance*
3. *to improve press coverage of legislative activities*
4. *to increase the role of civil society in the legislative process.*

This theme, of course, most closely parallels USAID SO5: “Improved Governance through Increased Citizen Participation” and is also consistent with the COP’s past analysis that it should be the highest priority for the Parliament.⁸ At the same time, we have observed that its implementation, for a variety of historical, political, and cultural factors, presents a significant challenge. As noted in the report by consultant June Creelman on increasing citizen access to the Parliament (Activity II-8, Deliverable 015, page 5):

“Public participation in Parliament and widespread civic engagement is a long-term goal that may take decades or generations to achieve. Before this goal can be reached, the public must understand the system and how it works One can envisage the process leading to citizen participation as follows: AWARENESS → UNDERSTANDING → PARTICIPATION. Given the fledgling state of Rwanda’s new Parliament, it is recommended that for short and medium term, citizen access programs focus on promoting awareness and understanding. Programs should explain how Parliament works, make the public feel comfortable with the institution, and educate them about how they can influence the legislative process.”

This reality has not prevented the project from moving forward on these activities, but the challenges are significant, and success will require both flexibility and a time commitment beyond the scope of the present project.

II-1 Training on Effective Representation

Training for MPs (Deputies and Senators) was planned as a follow-up to the seminar on Increasing Citizen Participation in the Legislative Process conducted under the former project in June 2003. Considerations include both increased citizen access to the Parliament and increasing public outreach by MPs. See also related two activities below: Public Input on Legislative Processes and Public Hearings.

Actions Undertaken: This topic was included in the New Member training on November 13, but further training was delayed by the assertion that the Parliament was too busy for training. The project proposed a three-day seminar on effective representation and promotion of citizen participation in the legislative process, including techniques for receiving citizen input, public hearings, the role of caucuses, and collaboration with the media. While this training was

⁸ “Analysis of the Legislative Process at the Rwanda Transitional National Assembly” by Douglass P. Teschner, Ed.D., September 19, 2002 (revised November 5, 2002).

included in the table of proposed activities received from the Chamber of Deputies on March 25, 2004, we were since informed that it was not a priority. We intended to incorporate some of the topics in the planned Executive Oversight Seminar, but, as noted elsewhere, that activity was cancelled by the Parliament.

Specific Deliverables Submitted: None.

II-2 Public Input in Legislative Processes

This was proposed as a major theme throughout the project period, with a variety of activities coordinated by the COP and the PO/LS. The focus of public input in nearly all legislatures is at the committee, rather than the plenary, level, and the project advocated for public hearings at the committee level as a major method for receiving citizen input.

Actions Undertaken: Most activities were not implemented as a result of delays in passage of the internal regulations. However, the project was in discussions with the USAID D/G and Ag./Econ. teams and other NGOs (including CARE, Trocaire, and Human Rights Watch) in regard to the opportunity for the proposed land bill to receive public input once it reached the Parliament. The COP also met with the LandNet group. It was hoped that the land bill might serve as a "pilot project" with respect to increasing public input at the Parliament, and this appears to have been achieved. After many delays, the land bill arrived at Parliament in late June 2004. Project staff members had discussions with Parliament leadership on how this bill would be a good opportunity for formalizing procedures for citizen input. A formal letter to the Speaker and the leadership of the Agriculture committee to this effect was sent on July 7, 2004; technical assistance offered included procedures for setting up a hearing or forum for receiving public input on this critical issue. A formal public hearing in the Western tradition was not organized, but there was a very positive effort by the committee to accept public input. The committee room was open to the public, and citizens and the press attended. The committee regularly invited anyone in the room to comment on various articles in the bill, and there were some lively presentations and discussions.⁹ This is a very significant step forward on public participation consistent with what this project has long been advocating.

Specific Deliverables Submitted: None.

II-3 Increasing the Role of Civil Society and Stakeholders in the Legislative Process (including development of an NGO/CSO database)

Technical assistance and training to formalize recommendations from the June 2003 seminar (which involved TNA MPs and leaders of civil society) was implemented. A database of NGOs (non-governmental organizations) and CSOs (civil society organizations) who have interest in, and can be contacted for, input on legislation, was developed and made accessible to

⁹ As witnessed by project staff and reported in the local media (see, for example, New Times, July 28, 2004, p. 3 and July 30, 2004, p. 8).

both the Parliament and the public. This latter activity was developed in collaboration with the USAID-funded CARE Civil Society Strengthening Project.

Actions Undertaken: CARE, with our input, developed a basic information form that was distributed to 172 NGOs via the mail in late December 2003. CARE, which developed the list, included known civil society groups (farmers' organizations, labor unions, church organizations, women's and human rights organizations, etc.). 63 completed forms had been received. A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with CARE was finalized on May 3 and signed by both parties. An RFP was developed, and an invitation to bid notice was sent to 23 IT vendors and consultants during the first week of May. A contract was finalized on June 14, 2004 with Patrick Maniraho and Maurice Isabwe. The experts developed the web-based database, with input from ARD, CARE, and ARD's electronic archives consultant Anselme Bappock. Tasks included design and construction of the database, report formats, and associated web site formats; entering available data; creating a "user friendly" manual to guide use of the database (in both French and English); development of an administrators manual; and training of the CARE staff who will take over the maintenance. The NGO database project was presented to the full Chamber of Deputies in the same workshop as the electronic archives presentation. As the database is brand new, it has seen little activity to date, but we expect it will receive more activity when it is moved from the current temporary URL (<http://ccc.1asphost.com/NgoDatabase/MyWeb/ard1.htm>) to the CARE web site. CARE will take over the maintenance and updating of the completed database and ARD agreed to purchase needed Dreamweaver software for their use on an ongoing basis.

In addition to the database, it was also initially proposed that the project work with CARE on a training activity involving Parliament and civil society that would focus on education on the latter's rights and potential influence as regards the legislative process. The Parliament told us, however, that such an activity was not among their current priorities, although they did support the visitor center initiative described elsewhere. IFES has contacted us about a similar activity, and we provided some advice and suggestions to them. While we recognize the importance of having citizens participate actively in the legislative process, it may be necessary to proceed in a step-by-step fashion which begins with simply having more citizens visiting Parliament and becoming comfortable in that environment. (See also activities on Public Input in the Legislative Processes, Public Hearings, and Educating Rwanda's Citizenry on the Role of the Parliament).

Specific Deliverables Submitted:

- Deliverable 025, Creation of a Web-based NGO/Civil Society Data Base, December 11, 2004. This includes a manual on use of the database and an administrator manual on maintaining and updating the database.

II-4 Support for the New Committee on Petitions

This proposed new Chamber of Deputies committee will examine and respond to questions asked by Rwanda citizens and thus fulfill an important function in increasing legislative accessibility.

Actions Undertaken: The Chamber of Deputies is currently operating under the 1998 rules which call for nine policy committees. Two are expected to be added (Petitions and Gender/Family) as part of the new internal rules. Technical assistance was delayed pending passage of the rules and creation of this committee, neither of which has occurred. We have, however, offered assistance to the Senate Social Committee which also has assumed responsibility for responding to citizen petitions; initial meetings were held with that committee on May 11 and May 13. The PO/LS drafted a document for the Committee in which he outlined some of the jurisdictional and procedural aspects of receiving and responding to petitions.

Specific Deliverables Submitted: None (although the French version of the petitions work paper is available upon request).

II-5 Public Hearings

This activity relates closely to others, including internal rules modernization and increasing public input in the legislative process.

Actions Undertaken: Public hearings were promoted throughout the duration of both the former and current project and were included, in some form, in proposed internal rules, but these are not yet law for various reasons discussed elsewhere. We have also provided to USAID copies of a number of requested bills, especially those related to the judiciary. Training on this topic was to be incorporated in the Effective Representation seminar described previously, including “how to” aspects of increasing opportunities for citizens and civil society to present information on proposed legislation in the Parliament’s committees, as well as other methods for citizens to participate in the legislative process. Unfortunately, we were informed that this training was not a high priority for the Parliament, although we had planned to include some of its elements in the Executive Oversight workshop which was subsequently cancelled by Parliament. It was hoped that a public hearing could be piloted in association with the land bill as described previously under the topic of Public Input in Legislative Processes. While not organized in the traditional hearing format, it did fulfill the same purpose. The Senate Social Affairs Committee requested funding for field meetings on HIV/AIDS policy, but this was beyond the budgetary resources of the project. See also relevant discussion under the visitor consultancy (II-8).

Specific Deliverables Submitted: None, although the rules proposal with public hearings is noted in the October 8, 2003 document entitled Key Milestone in Parliament Support (Deliverable 02).

II-6 Maximizing Web Site for Legislative Transparency

This activity was built upon past assistance under the former project. The goal was to increase transparency by including laws voted, plenary minutes, committee activities, and MP email addresses. These efforts are consistent with the draft internal rules which require that a variety of information be made available to the public.

Actions Undertaken: In November 2003, the COP met with the UNDP IT consultant Mr. Gilsun, and both the COP and Mr. Gilsun urged the Secretary General to bring together the parliamentary IT and press/communications staff to better coordinate the introduction onto the web site of data from the Parliament's network (including records of plenary debates, bills under consideration, etc.). As a result, parliamentary staff met and revised the web site to include more documents, as well as adding information on the Senate and photos of the new MPs. This prototype was developed based upon the recommendation of Mr. Gilsun in December 2003, and it replaced the former site in January 2004. Through the ARD project's initiative, a variety of new information has since been added to the website, including how to visit parliament and information on the Women's MP Forum. As discussed under electronic archives, ARD consultant Anselme Bappock presented web site improvements to both the Chamber of Deputies (on November 16, 2004) and the Senate (on November 19). As noted elsewhere, the work of Electronic Archives consultant, Mr. Bappock, led to 92,350 new pages of documents on the existing site. The project has also recommended that the Parliament hire a full-time webmaster, and this position was included on the Chamber organizational chart. SNV included this post among their detailed job descriptions. In addition, the project received a letter from Parliament requesting acquisition of Adobe GoLive software which the project purchased and shipped from the United States.

Specific Deliverables Submitted:

- Deliverable 11 includes the webmaster job description.
- Deliverable 13 includes web site aspects as part of electronic archiving.
- Deliverable 24 also includes relevant information.

II-7 Improving Media Relations with Parliament

The goal to improve press coverage of the legislative process and Parliament's activities.

Actions Undertaken: The original training activity/press forum was designed to incorporate both MP and media participation with the goal to improve press coverage of the legislative process and Parliament's activities. Communication with the press was included as a topic in the first Women MP Forum seminar previously described. An activity for all the MPs was proposed to the Parliament leadership, but not embraced as a priority at this time. Instead, the Chamber, in its table of activities dated March 25, proposed direct assistance in preparing radio and television emissions, although this was beyond the scope of the project. The Chamber of Deputies Press and Communications Director was working on a strategic communications plan for the Parliament; ARD staff suggested possible assistance in several of the activities included, but there was insufficient response to move forward.

Specific Deliverables Submitted:

- Deliverable 12, Report on the Women MP's Communications Skills Seminar, May 18, 2004.

II-8 Educating Rwanda's Citizenry on the Role of the Parliament

Outreach activity is necessary to create new and improved mechanisms for the Parliament to engage the Rwandans in the role of the legislature in democratic governance. This topic incorporates two interrelated activities (1) increasing citizen visits and access to the Parliament and (2) outreach strategies and publicity materials on the legislative process (including how a bill becomes law, the role of an MP, opportunities for public presentation in the legislative process, procedures at Parliament, etc.).

Actions Undertaken: As part of the effort to increase citizen participation at the Parliament, we have worked with both Trocaire and CARE to help coordinate visits to the Parliament building. The protocol staff director requested more formal help in developing standardized procedures for visitors, and a Scope of Work was developed. The project hired Canadian consultant Ms. June Creelman and a Rwandan counterpart Jean Luc Kibuka Mporera who were assisted by a volunteer, Ms. Dianne Brydon, Director of Public Programs at the Canadian Parliament and former Chief of Education and Visitor Services at the Canada House of Commons. Technical assistance and training was designed to increase the capacity and skills of legislative staff to receive visitors to the Parliament and provide a positive educational program. The consultants met with MPs, parliamentary staff, CSO representatives, and school children in late April and early May. A training for parliamentary staff was conducted on May 5 and 6, 2004, and the team submitted their report on July 6, 2004. Recommendations include work on visitors' brochure/poster and new Parliament signage which includes words making it clear that visitors are welcome. The PO/LS and CCN consultant Jean Luc Kibuka followed up with parliamentary staff (esp. Press and Protocol) on the recommendations in the report and the possibility of our assistance in implementation of the short-term recommendations. The procedures for visiting the Parliament were included on the parliamentary web site. CARE agreed to help distribute information materials on Parliament to NGOs and assist in organizing a proposed seminar with MPs and NGOs, but such a collaborative outreach seminar was not a current priority of Parliament.

Specific Deliverables Submitted:

- Deliverable 015, Improving Citizen Visits and Access to the Rwanda Parliament: Consultancy Report on Recommendations for Public Programs and Services, July 6, 2004.

II-9 Parliamentary Election Monitoring

Parliamentary elections occurred at the beginning of the project period and were monitored by project staff.

Actions Undertaken: At the suggestion of USAID, the project applied for, and received, election observer status for the parliamentary elections in late September and early October 2003. The ARD staff visited polling stations (1) on September 29 for the indirect election of youth and handicapped representatives to the Chamber of Deputies in Kigali; (2) on September 30 for direct nationwide elections of Deputies (in Kigali, two polling stations visited; Butare, two; and a rural area south of Butare, one); and (3) on October 2 in Kigali for the indirect election of a Kigali Senator and two Kigali women Deputies, as well as the election of two

professors to the Senate. The ARD team observed some minor irregularities, but the polling stations visited were generally well run with election procedures followed for the most part.

Specific Deliverables Submitted:

- Deliverable 001, Parliamentary Elections Observations (Report), October 5, 2003.

APPENDIX A

Deliverables Submitted During this Project

- Deliverable 001, Parliamentary Elections Observations (Report), October 5, 2003.
- Deliverable 002, Key Milestone in Parliament Support (Report), October 8, 2003.
- Deliverable 003, Some Considerations for the New Parliament (Report), October 14, 2004.
- Deliverable 004, Program Results and Activities Report for USAID D/G Partners Meeting, October 27, 2003.
- Deliverable 005a, Preliminary Work Plan, October 30, 2003.
Deliverable 005b, Preliminary Work Plan Timeline, November 15, 2004.
- Deliverable 006a, Project Baselines and Indicators of Success, November 3, 2003.
Deliverable 006b, Summary of Quantitative Indicators, November 3, 2003.
- Deliverable 007, Training of New Members of Parliament (Activity Report), November 17, 2003.
- Deliverable 008, Semi-Annual Report, January 31, 2004.
- Deliverable 009, Redrafting of Autonomy Law Consultancy Report, February 20, 2004.
- Deliverable 010, Report on Job Descriptions for the New Rwanda Senate, March 1, 2004.
- Deliverable 011, Report on Job Descriptions for the Rwanda Chamber of Deputies, March 17, 2004.
- Deliverable 012, Report on the Women MP's Communications Skills Seminar, May 18, 2004.
- Deliverable 013, Phase Two Consultancy on Electronic Archiving, June 10, 2004.
- Deliverable 014, Internet Skills Training for Rwanda Members of Parliament, June 15, 2004.
- Deliverable 015, Improving Citizen Visits and Access to the Rwanda Parliament: Consultancy Report on Recommendations for Public Programs and Services, July 6, 2004.

- Deliverable 016, Semi-annual Report, August 2, 2004.
- Deliverable 017, Assistance to the Rwanda Senate to Develop a Human Resources Management and Staff Development Action Plan (by SNV), including the Manual of Human Resource Management; September 29, 2004.
- Deliverable 018, Procedures Manual for Managing Visitors at the Rwanda Parliament September 23, 2004.
- Deliverable 019, Close Out Plan, November 30, 2004.
- Deliverable 020, Demobilization Plan, November 30, 2004.
- Deliverable 021, Consultancy on Enhanced Bill Drafting Skills and Development of a Bill Drafting Manual, December 11, 2004.
- Deliverable 022, Consultancy to Finalize the Rwanda Parliament's Strategic Plan, December 14, 2004.
- Deliverable 023, Senate Manual Design and Compilation, December 15, 2004.
- Deliverable 024, Phase Three Consultancy on Electronic Archiving, December 15, 2004.
- Deliverable 025, Creation of a Web-based NGO/Civil Society Data Base, December 11, 2004.
- Deliverable 026, Kenya Parliament Study Tour, December 13, 2004.
- Deliverable 027, Enhancing the Executive Oversight and Budget Analysis Capacity of the Rwanda Women Parliamentarians.
- Deliverable 028, Final Report.



Rwanda Parliament Support Project
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PROJECT BASELINES AND INDICATORS OF SUCCESS

Final Results since Baselines of September 30, 2003

NARRATIVE

The baselines reflect the status of the Rwanda Parliament at the end of the ARD/SUNY project which operated from Nov. 2000 - Sept. 2003. The indicators selected were designed to document progress during the new project which began Sept. 30, 2003. Indicators follow the two general project categories.

Results are in italics.

Legislative Capacity Strengthening

Objectives

1. to increase the legislature's capacity to function as an efficient, effective, and autonomous institution
2. to strengthen the critical role of legislative committees
3. to help the Parliament implement necessary structural changes resulting from the new Constitution

Baselines as of September 30, 2003

Most of the Parliament staff members were limited in their duties to primarily administrative roles. For example, there were no staff members who had specialized duties in research or budget analysis, and the MPs had limited access to significant independent information aside from what was presented by the Ministries. The Parliament's ability to shape an independent agenda was limited by a lack of member bills passed and limited duration for consideration of the state budget. No Members bills were passed in 2002 or in the first eight months of 2003. In 2002, the budget deliberation period was 24 days (12/3-12/27/02). The number of plenary sessions devoted to

Executive Oversight was only 6 in 2003 (8 months). The 2003 parliamentary operating budget is 1,424,911,217 FRw which represents 0.762% of the total GOR operating budget.

Indicators Selected

* The professional capacity of staff to undertake policy and budget analyses, bill drafting, and research will be enhanced as measured by at least ten staff members assigned to work in formalized professional budget analysis, research, and bill drafting offices by September 29, 2004.

Staff reorganization is underway to create these professional staff positions, with expected hiring by the end of the year. 27 new positions will be filled, including thirteen new technical/expert positions (analysts, lawyers, interpreters/translators). The target of ten will thus be surpassed, although on a slower timetable than initially anticipated)

* The independence of the Parliament to consider legislation will be increased as measured by the passage of at least four Member bills by September 29, 2004.

Among the 26 bills passed under the new Parliament by the end of September, one is a member bill (the Senate rules). The Chamber rules have since passed the first chamber, but not yet the second. A third member bill, on executive oversight has not yet been voted out by the two chambers. A fourth member bill, the parliamentary autonomy law, is still in committee. The project was helping an MP to develop a fifth member bill, but our assistance was no longer needed when he indicated that the government was moving to resolve his concerns. To conclude, there was some progress in this area, but not at the level anticipated.

* The comprehensiveness of the deliberative budget process will increase, as measured by a 25% increase in the time period from initial committee deliberation of the state budget until final plenary passage (from 24 days in 2002 to a minimum of 30 days in 2003).

Regrettably, the December 2003 (for the 2004 budget) deliberative budget process lasted only 14 days. The 2005 budget process began in committee on December 7, 2004 with plenary passage expected on December 23, 2004 (17 days total).

* The number of plenary sessions devoted to Executive Oversight/Questioning of Ministers will increase by at least 50%, as measured by a comparison of the number in the first eight months of 2003 (6 sessions) to the comparable period in 2004 (at least 9).

During the stated time period, the Chamber of Deputies conducted two formal and three informal executive oversight sessions, while the Senate has conducted four such sessions. The total of nine sessions in the first seven months of 2004 thus meets the target.

* The resources devoted to legislative activities will be significantly expanded as measured by (1) a 20% increase in the 2004 parliamentary operating budget compared to 2003 and (2) a 10% increase in the Parliament operating budget as a percentage of the total GOR operating budget.

Both of these targets were surpassed significantly. The 4,230 million FRw parliamentary 2004 budget was 197% higher than 2003's 1,424 million FRw budget, while the Parliament's share of the operating budget increased to 1.707 % of the Government of Rwanda (GOR) operating budget, a 124% increase over 2003.

Improving Citizen Involvement in the Legislative Process

Objectives

1. to ensure effective representation by elected legislators
2. to educate Rwanda citizens of the role of the legislature in democratic governance
3. to improve press coverage of legislative activities
4. to increase the role of civil society in the legislative process

Baselines as of September 30, 2003¹⁰

Civil society impact on legislation was very limited. While citizens and civil society groups had, on occasion, sent letters to the legislature requesting an opportunity to appear before committees considering legislation of interest, there were no formal public hearings. There is limited information available to the public on how to contact MPs by email; for example, only 5 email addresses were listed on the Assembly's website (three Deputies and two staff). Efforts had been undertaken to increase transparency, but much information is not easily accessible. The number of pages on the parliamentary web site on September 20, 2003 was 344; this represented a significant increase over the past, but much key information is not as yet on the site.

Indicators Selected

* There will be an increase in civil society influence in public policy debates, as measured by a minimum of 10 passed bills by September 29, 2004 having provisions or amendments proposed by civil society.

With respect to the 26 bills passed by the stated date, there was no significant civil society participation at the Parliament. However, the Chamber Agriculture Committee encouraged citizen participation during its recent committee discussions on the land bill which has not yet passed both chambers. This is an extremely positive development which sets an important precedent for the parliament going forward. It is also anticipated that such openings will be formalized in the new internal regulations. Thus, while the indicator proved ambitious, there was a significant breakthrough in this area which is not reflected in the data.

¹⁰ As noted on page five in the report by consultant June Creelman (Deliverable 015):

“Public participation in Parliament and widespread civic engagement is a long-term goal that may take decades or generations to achieve. Before this goal can be reached, the public must understand the system and how it works . . . One can envisage the process leading to citizen participation as follows: AWARENESS → UNDERSTANDING → PARTICIPATION. Given the fledgling state of Rwanda's new Parliament, it is recommended that for short and medium term, citizen access programs focus on promoting awareness and understanding. Programs should explain how Parliament works, make the public feel comfortable with the institution, and educate them about how they can influence the legislative process.”

In this context, the indicators selected for citizen involvement were ambitious. Better intermediate indicators for a future parliament/civil society activity would be the numbers of groups and/or visitors to the Parliament. The base line estimates (as noted in this same report, p.3) are 10-15 organized visits and 200-300 visitors in the prior year.

* A minimum of 10 public hearings will be conducted by the committees of the Parliament by September 29, 2004.

The land bill public participation, while not in a traditional public hearing format, certainly meets the intent of this indicator. It is anticipated that this precedent, as well as final passage of the internal rules, will result in increased public participation.

* A minimum of 50 email addresses will be listed on the Parliamentary web site by September 29, 2004.

75 email addresses are now listed on the site, surpassing the target by 50%.

* The amount of public information on Parliament activities will significantly increase, as measured by at least a 50% increase in the number of printable pages (from the current 344 to at least 516) on the Parliament's web site by September 29, 2004.

The current count is 94,000 pages, far surpassing the goal. This was achieved as a result of (1) creation of new Senate web pages, (2) addition of individual pages on each Deputy, (3) a web site redesign with three languages and new links, and (4), most significantly, scanning of all voted laws, plenary reports, plenary verbatim reports, committee reports, and bureau reports from 1994-2004.

SUMMARY OF QUANTITATIVE INDICATORS

Indicator	Unit of Measure	Baseline Value		Target Data		Actual Data		Frequency	Method of Acquisition
		Date	Value	Date	Value	Date	Value		
Staff in Budget, Research, and Bill Drafting Offices	Number	9/03	0	9/04	10	12/04 (anticipated)	13	Semi-annually	Info. request to Parliament
Passed bills introduced by MPs	# / total passed (%)	2000 2001 2002 2003 (8 mo.)	1/54 (2%) 2/55 (4%) 0/44 (0%) 0/39 (0%)	9/04	4	9/04	1/26 (4%)	Semi-annually	Info. request to Parliament
Budget deliberation process duration	# days from 1 st comm. meeting until final passage	2001 (for 2002 budget) 2002 (for 2003 budget)	16 24	2003 (for 2004 budget)	30 (25% increase)	2003 (for 2004 budget) 2004 (for 2005 budget)	14 17 (planned)	Annually	Data provided by parliamentary staff
Plenary sessions devoted to executive oversight	Number/ time period	1999 2000 2001 2002 2003 (8 mo.)	3 5 11 8 6	2004 (8 mo.)	9	9/04	9	Semi-annually	Info. request to Parliament
Operating budget of the Parliament	FRw per calendar year	2001 2002 2003	906m 1,307m 1,424m	2004	1,709m (20% increase)	2004	4,230m (197% increase)	Annually at end of calendar year	Official Gazette of the Republic of Rwanda

Indicator	Unit of Measure	Baseline Value		Target Data		Actual Data		Frequency	Method of Acquisition
		Date	Value	Date	Value	Date	Value		
Parliament operating budget as a % of total GOR operating budget	%	2001 2002 2003	0.708% 0.806% 0.762%	2004	0.838% (10% increase)	2004	1.707% (124% increase)	Annually at end of calendar year	Official Gazette of the Republic of Rwanda
Bills passed with CSO input	Number	9/03	0?	9/04	10	12/04	0	Semi-annually	Info. request to Parliament
Public hearings	Number	9/03	0	9/04	10	12/04	1	Semi-annually	Info. request to Parliament
MPs & staff with email addresses on Parliament website	Number	9/03	5	9/04	50	9/04	75	Semi-annually	Review of web site
Web site pages	Number	6/02 9/03	199 344	9/04	516 (50% increase)	12/04	94,000	Semi-annually	Count on web by project staff; data from electronic archives consultant